1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

203
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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[22] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[23]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[24] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Class and Rank

183
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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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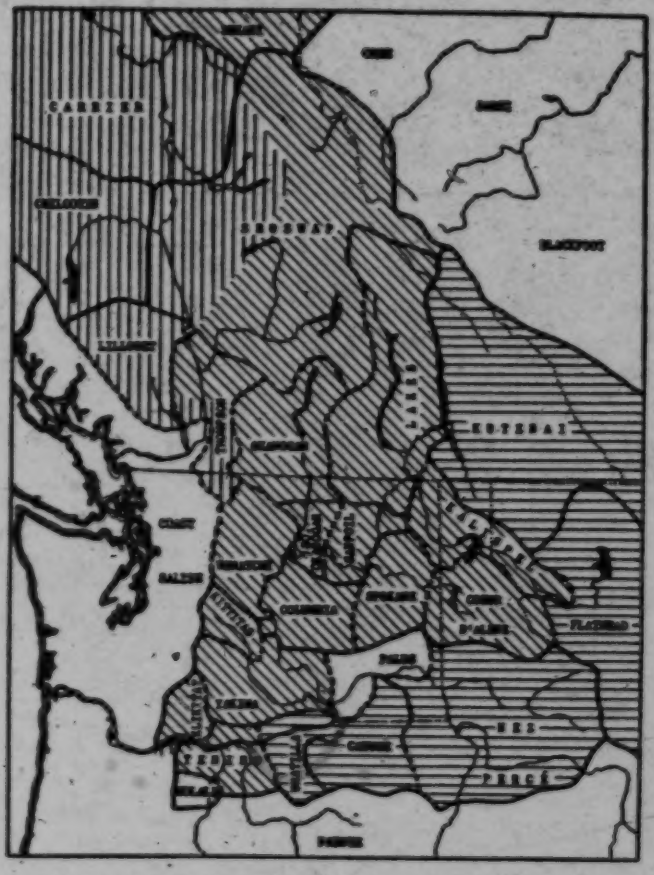
The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[22] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[23] Cline, *Southern Okanagon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 134.
[24] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

class distinctions are unthinkable, to say nothing of slavery. The latter is looked upon as an unaccountable custom of foreigners. Every adult citizen—man or woman—is a member of the general assembly of his village. When it becomes necessary to select a chief from a new



MAP 4. Class and rank. *Vertical hatching:* modified coastal pattern; *diagonal hatching:* no stratification; *horizontal hatching:* ranking according to war honors.

lineage, any man is eligible. The selection is made without regard to any quality suggestive of class. The chief is in no way set apart socially; he is as approachable as any man in the group. Nor does wealth carry any suggestion of advance in status. Indeed, wealth is rare. Only sha-

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

mans can properly be counted rich men and whatever prestige they possess is the result of their unusual supernatural powers, not their riches. The scarcity of wealth is to a marked degree the result of the belief in the equality of mankind. No justification can be found for one man having more than another, but every man is deserving of a living. Salmon is the staple food; the huge catches of this fish taken each summer at the great fish weirs are divided equally among all present, foreigners included. A man need take no part in the fishing activities to be entitled to a share in the daily distributions. Likewise the meat obtained on a hunting expedition is divided equally among all those who take part regardless of what members actually killed the game. But reward for individual initiative is not lacking. Participation in the activities of weir fishing carries distinct honors. More materially, salmon taken with a spear is the property of the individual spearman (but every man is given his turn on the fishing platform). And game taken by the individual hunter is his property. Women always retain the products of their individual labors at berry picking or root gathering. Yet it is never necessary for a person to go hungry if there is food in the village. A single meal or a whole winter's lodging and meals is never denied a man.

In the quest for supernatural power equality also plays its role. This activity is open equally to every man and every woman, not to only a privileged few as on parts of the Coast. Very few men fail to achieve at least one guardian spirit.[35]

A pointed statement by Alexander Ross indicates that similar conditions and attitudes characterized the Southern Okanogan in earlier times. "Their general maxim is, that Indians were born to be free, and that no man has a natural right to the obedience of another, except he be rich in horses and has many wives."[36] The last phrase is ambiguous: it may indicate that chiefs here were richer than the average man. Slavery is utterly unknown; class concepts are completely absent.[37]

The Kalispel, Lakes, Spokane, and Wenatchi participate in this strong emphasis on equality, though perhaps not to the same degree as the Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan. Among all other non-peripheral groups social equality is the distinct rule for freemen, but slaves make their appearance in small numbers. On the south and west, coastal

[35] Ray, *Sanpoil and Nespelim*, pp. 25 f.
[36] Ross, *Adventures*, p. 292.
[37] Cline, *Southern Okanogan*, pp. 87, 98.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

influence is observable, while on the east the Plains pattern of rank according to prowess in war has made a distinct impression.

Quite typical coastal class distinctions are present among the Lower Chinook at the mouth of the Columbia River. The Wishram of the Dalles serve as intermediaries between the Lower Chinook and the Plateau in trading activities. It is not surprising, therefore, that they recognize certain vague social distinctions.

> Three classes were recognized in addition to slaves, who stood outside the social structure. While these represented gradations of wealth, they were not primarily such since chiefs were not always among the wealthiest persons, and they in turn were not always chiefs. . . . A lowest class individual was specified as poor, owning no slaves and little of anything else.[38]

To the south, among the Klamath, social stratification is but weakly developed. In contrast to the Wishram, however, chiefs are invariably wealthy. Beyond these there is little difference in wealth from richest to poorest, a condition quite characteristic of the Plateau. Social position is not a matter of heredity.[39]

On the western edge of the Canadian Plateau, there is a certain awareness of class distinctions based upon descent. Among the Lillooet the descendents of chiefs "formed an aristocracy but had no privileges of any kind." But further there exists "a nobility of merit" in which membership is acquired through wealth, wisdom, oratory, and liberality. Men constituting this group are called "chiefs" as well as those belonging to the "nobility of rank." "The hereditary chiefs were looked upon as the real chiefs of communities, even although other men called chiefs might have greater influence and power."[40] This recognition of a loose hereditary nobility is found among the western Lillooet only; it has never reached the easternmost villages, or at least it is denied today. Furthermore, the "chiefs" of this aristocracy are sept chiefs, not political chiefs as such. Teit assumes that the first Lillooet septs were simple village groups. There is reason to believe that the political chiefs of these groups were quite strictly hereditary, as they are among the eastern Lillooet today. This would have provided a fertile base for the growth of sept distinctions under coastal influence. Thus the radical difference between western Lillooet organization and typical Plateau structure appears to be the result of very recent and rather

[38] Spier and Sapir, *Wishram Ethnography*, p. 211. [39] Spier, *Klamath Ethnography*, p. 307.
[40] Teit, *Lillooet Indians*, pp. 254 f.

1: Ray E-5 (1928-38) 1939 Plateau

ship. Among the Umatilla, for example, one's coup record is all-important in achieving chiefly status. Aside from this, coup ranking appears more honorific than functional. The Flathead in earlier days permitted distinguished warriors to join the council in ceremonial smoking as a mark of honor, but did not assign permanent membership on this basis.[45] This probably typifies a more widespread attitude.

Altogether it appears that emphasis upon equality, as exemplified by the Sanpoil, is a fundamental Plateau trait of long standing. It was not adopted as a defense against outside notions but existed as a basic cultural pattern when foreign ideas of class and rank first impinged upon the area. Superficial adoption of these ideas came at a late date and only along the borders. The most central and isolated groups maintain the older attitudes quite unimpaired.

Slavery

Certain attitudes and facts regarding slavery have been discussed above. The Sanpoil and Southern Okanogan lack slaves entirely and are outspoken in condemning the practice. Slaves are likewise absent among the Columbia and Lakes, and very nearly so among the Kalispel. This central region is encircled by a wide area in which slavery is present but of slight importance as an institution, and the numbers held are small. Only in the extreme northwestern Plateau (Carrier, Chilcotin, Lillooet, Thompson) and among the Wishram and Klamath are slaves fairly numerous. The western position of these tribes makes it obvious that they are participating in coastal culture in this respect.

The Kalispel today deny that they have ever held slaves, but Teit states of the Coeur d'Alêne that several cases are remembered where local women were enslaved by the Kalispel and Flathead, but that in nearly all cases they were eventually returned home. The Spokane held no slaves in recent generations but may have had a certain number in earlier times. The Flathead, too, gave up slavery before it was outlawed by the whites.

> Long ago the only slaves were a few captives of war, consisting of young women, boys, and girls, who were adopted into the families to which they belonged, and were treated well. . . . In later times, it is said, there were no slaves of any kind, as the Flathead did not trade in slaves.[46]

Okanogan slaves are mainly young women made captive in war though

[45] Turney-High, *Flathead Indians*, p. 52.
[46] Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, pp. 158, 380.